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GANDHARA SCULPTURES

(SOME RECENT ACQUISITIONS)

BY

JAMES BURGESS, C.I.E., LL.D., F.R.S.E.

Illustrated by

Thirty-eight Text-Blocks.

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NOTE.

No. 69 completes Vol. VIII.

No. 70 (Vol. IX.) will contain a Monograph (with 22 coloured illustrations) on "The Nats" (Burmese Royal Ghosts) by Colonel R. C. Temple, C.I.E.

No. 71 will contain an extra fully illustrated Monograph on "Brass and Copper Objects used in Hindu Ritual," by Colonel J. H. Rivett-Carnac, C.I.E., A.D.C.; and No. 72, a Monograph on "Ancient Indian Beads," by Mrs. J. H. Rivett-Carnac.

THE

JOURNAL

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The Journal of Indian Art and Industry.

GANDHARA SCULPTURES.

SOME RECENT ACQUISITIONS.

In the previous paper on the Buddhist art remains in the region formerly known as Gandhâra on the extreme north-west of India, the probable age of the remains was discussed and examples, from the collections chiefly at Lahor and the British Museum, were described and illustrated.

It is most unfortunate that all the early excavations were carried out without any regard to the original relations of the individual sculptures, or the interpretation dependent on their relative positions: even the portions of broken reliefs do not seem to have been looked for. Had such want of system obtained in the excavations at Pergamum, where would the priceless collection now at Berlin have been? Every fragment, however small, was collected and all carefully pieced together with those found beside it, until the complete frieze was restored. Instead of anything of the sort being dreamt of in Yûsufzai and Swât, figures and groups in any way partially preserved or large, were torn away and all fragments and chips cast aside: what did not present some figure only partially damaged was not worth plundering. And the system still continues.

All we can do then is to examine the *disjecta membra* that reach us from we hardly know where: sculptures differing in age by centuries and doubtless found quite apart, reach our museums as if from the same wall surface. We can learn no more.

The following notes are in continuation of the illustration of the Gandhâra art, with special reference to sculptures which have recently reached Calcutta and the British Museum, and may help to elucidate some points more fully than was done before.

The Government of Bengal, in 1896, issued orders for the excavation of an ancient stûpa found at Loriyân Tangai, a place in the lower Swât valley; and some sculptures were apparently obtained from other places. But, as usual, no exact information about their find-spots is available. The sculptures were removed to Calcutta by Mr. A. E. Caddy and have been placed in the Indian Museum there. Photographs were taken by Mr. Caddy at the scene of excavation and of separate sculptures; but the larger number were only photographed in considerable groups in a way that is most unsatisfactory for study and unsuited for illustration. Among the photographs are also a few of interesting reliefs that had not reached the India Museum.

Further, since the former paper was written, Professor Albert Grünwedel, of Berlin Ethnographic Museum, has published, in *Globus* (18th March, 1899), an illustrated paper—"Zur buddhistichen Ikonographie," in which special notice is taken of some of the remarks made in the former paper on this subject. Professor Grünwedel's observations are always judicious and deserving of careful consideration; and only local knowledge and personal observation could warrant going beyond his cautious conclusions.

Among the Loriyân Tangai sculptures that have reached Calcutta is a representation of one of the favourite reliefs—perhaps the most venerated of all subjects of Buddhist iconographic art—the Mahâparinirvâṇa or Great

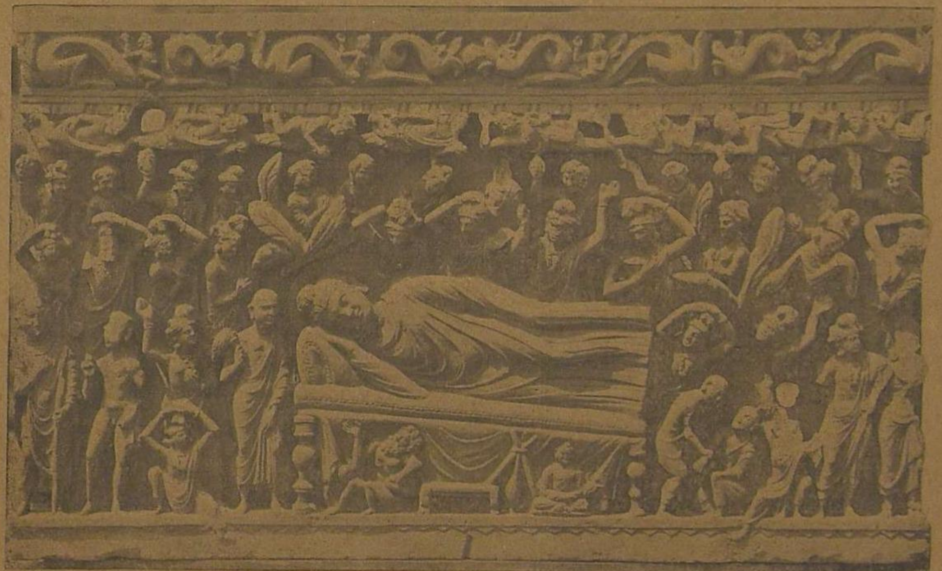

Fig. 1. Mahâparinirvâna. (Indian Museum, Calcutta).

Decease, the departure to Nirvâṇa of the great Teacher, between the two Sâl trees near Kuśinagara (fig. 1). Among the photographs also (but apparently not in the Museum) is another representation of the same scene, evidently by a very different artist, and surely of a different period (fig. 2). Further, among the recent acquisitions of the British Museum, we have a third and still different sculpture of this same oft-repeated scene (fig. 3).[1] They all differ in details, but there are permanent features that must have been regarded as essential. The first is on a slab measuring about 2 feet 4 inches long by 1 foot 4 inches high, and is in every way the most artistic piece of work as well as the most elaborate in detail. But in all three we have (1) the small figure of an ascetic seated in front of the couch on which the dying *S*âkya Muni lies; (2) the Vajra bearer; (3) a stark naked figure close by; (4) the two Sâla trees between which the couch was placed, and usually with the Tree Spirits (female) rising from the foliage and adoring the Teacher; (5) a water bottle (in two of them) hung from a sort of low tripod in front of the bed; and (6) a stool or step for the couch. To these we might also add, as among the usual accessories, (7) the attendants or witnesses of the scene who stand behind the bed, and (8) a fully robed figure with a rod or baton standing at, or near, the feet of the dying ascetic.

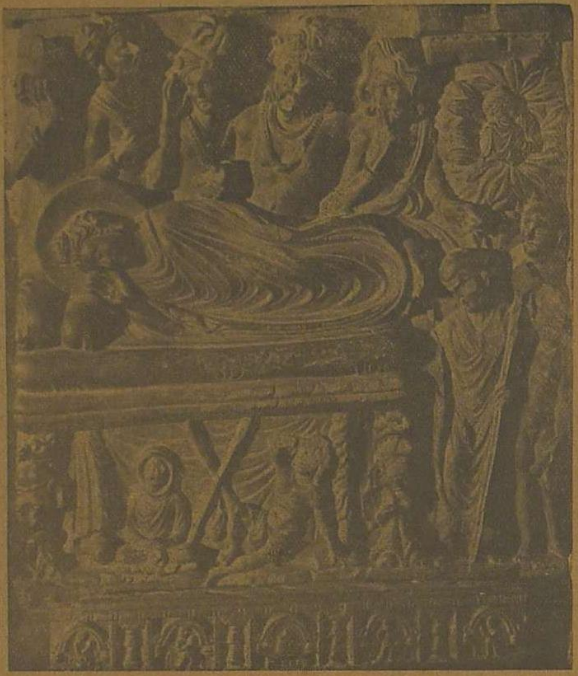

Fig. 2. Mahâparinirvâṇa.

Careful study may yet determine who are intended by each of the individuals thus represented. We read of Subhadra, the Brâhman heretic (possibly a follower of the Tîrthakas[2]) being converted by the dying Buddha and immediately entering Nirvâṇa; of the visit of the Malla chiefs of Kusinârâ; of Aniruddha and Upâvana; and of Kaśyapa's arrival and worship of the sage's feet.[3] Possibly these might be identified on the first of the reliefs. The Vajra-bearer, in two of the sculptures, is depicted as Fah-hian (ch. xxiv.) and Hiuen Thsang (Bk. vi.) describe "the hero bearing the diamond *vajra*, falling fainting on the earth," or "throwing down his golden mace." When Gautama returned as Tathâgata to visit his father, we are told "the eight Vajrapâṇis[4] surrounded him as an escort; the divine *S*akra with a multitude of Devas belonging to the Kâma-loka world took their place on the left hand; Brahma-râja with the Devas of Rûpa-loka accompanied him on the right."

Like the Jainas, the Buddhists interwove the gods of the Brahmanic pantheon into their legends: *S*akra, or Indra, for example, is about equally prominent with both these sects. Among the Hinayâṇa schools of Buddhism, who know little or nothing of Bodhisattwas, these *devas* retained their old names; among the Mahâyâṇa sects they were largely merged into a new pantheon with new epithets. *S*akra ("the mighty") the Aryan god of the atmosphere and king of the minor gods,—like Jupiter Fulgurator,—had for his symbol the thunderbolt—*fulmen* or *vajra*.

Fig. 3. Mahâparinirvâṇa (British Museum).

It may be, as Professor Grünwedel says, that this *vajra* belonged to all the gods, but it is never met with in any of their images, and, in the absence of such evidence, we are not justified in ascribing it to Mâra or anyone except *S*akra. Thus the three scenes on the right hand pillar of the east gateway at Sânchî may—quite as well as the figure on the *toraṇa*—[5] represent Indra as king in the Kâma-loka or Kâmadhâtu region—the world of beings subject to

[1] Conf. also the representation of the same subject in Cave XXVI. at Ajaṇṭâ, *Arch. Sur. S. India*, vol. I., p. 99.

[2] Rockhill, *Life of Buddha*, p. 138.

[3] The *Avadâna Sataka* (X., 10) mentions that, on the occasion of the Nirvâṇa, a Bhikshu, *S*akra, Brahma, and Aniruddha each pronounced or chaunted a separate verse; and seven days later, Ananda, making *pradakshina* round the funeral pile, also uttered a certain enigmatical stanza.

[4] Probably guardians of the eight points of the Indian compass.

[5] Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pl. xxiv., 3, p. 125; Grünwedel, *Buddhistiche Kunst*, S. 16.

metempsychosis. So also Mahâbrahma is the king of the second of the Trailokya regions—the Rûpadhâtu or Rûpâvachara, or imaginary world of form.

The followers of the Mahâyâṇa school then simply changed the name of *S*akra, or rather gave preference to another well-known Brahmanical name—that of Vajrapâṇi or Vajradhara,—rather than to Indra, *S*akra, Devendra, Mahendra, or any of his other epithets. His form in these sculptures is usually burly, with curly hair like that of the classical Jupiter; and as Strabo and his authorities seem to have confounded Indra with Jupiter Pluvius,[1] we can readily imagine that a Western artist, on being called upon to represent the Hindu ruler of the firmament—Divaspati, would naturally take some well-known type of Jupiter as his model. This may also account for the usual presentation of the person as with but little clothing.

Fig. 3 is in the British Museum and came from Kafarkoṭ in the Swât Valley; it is on a slab 16 inches long by 10 high, and shows the naked figure as speaking earnestly to the fully-clad person who is always represented near the Buddha's feet. In this *S*akra or Vajrapâṇi is represented as standing at the head of the couch, holding up his right hand in surprise, if not in grief, at the demise of the Master whom he had followed to protect. For the legend tells that, in a former *jâtaka*, he had been the son of a Chakravartti, or universal ruler, and had taken a vow to defend Buddhism; he was then born king of the Devas of the Traiyastri*ṁś*as heaven, and holds the *vajra* ready to crush every opponent of the religion. In this capacity he was naturally represented as the constant attendant on the Buddha in Gandhâra art; and, in the later Buddhism of the Yogâchârya school, Vajrapâṇi became the popular terror of all enemies of the Buddhists.

The four turbaned figures behind the couch in each of these sculptures may possibly represent the Malla princes; in the first they are probably intended to be represented as more numerous by the additional figures beyond the trees, who are mostly in an attitude of deep sorrow with their hands on their heads. In the second and third the treatment is quite different; but both seem to be meant to represent the deep grief of these spectators, and the upraised hands may indicate despair.

The two Sâla trees almost always appear in these representations, and the Devatas who watched over, or resided in them, on the occasion of the *Parinirvâṇa*, are said to have thrown down beautiful flowers upon the Buddha and sung in his praise. Devatas, Nâgas, and other supernatural beings showered Mandârava (*Erythrina fulgens*) flowers till they were knee-deep: this is probably the meaning of the flying figures on the upper part of the relief in fig. 1.

Another favourite subject is the birth scene in the Lumbinî garden. Fig. 4 presents a fragment from Loriyân Tangai in the Calcutta Museum, about 18 inches high. *S*akra and Brahmâ appear at the birth along with other gods, and the latter receives the child born from Mâyâ's right side. Two *châmaras* and a *chhatra* appeared in the air, and the Nâga kings made a lotus spring from the earth on which the child stood, and advancing seven steps, declared himself the greatest in the world. In this representation one *châmara* is represented in the air.

Fig. 4. Scene in the Lumbinî Garden.

Fig. 5. The Lumbinî Scene.
Fragment from a photograph.

Fig. 5 represents the same scene, and includes two of the maids in attendance on Mâyâdevî, with the same three Devas as before. This fragment has not reached the Calcutta Museum, and the photograph is without any indication of scale.

[1] Strabo, lib. xv., c. 1, § 69; conf. Lassen, *Ind. Alt. Bd.*, S.702; Muir, *Sansk. Texts*, vol. V., p. 77.

Fig. 6. Buddha's Seven Steps.

Another relief, of which we have only a photograph (fig. 6), represents separately the second part of the scene in fig. 4, viz., the *Saptapadâni*, or seven steps taken by the new-born Buddha. The gods only seem to be present in this scene: *S*ataketu or *S*akra had dispersed the attendants by a storm of wind and rain. Brahmâ, bearded and with a water vessel, stands on his right, and *S*akra with his *vajra* on the left of the infant. They and the other gods on this relief have no nimbi and are naked to the waist.

The heads of four other figures have disappeared: one is that of the attendant with the *chhatri* and *chaura*; but, of the four that remain, the head-dresses all differ in a marked way. Four of those present, the legends say, were the Regents of the four quarters—the Chatur Mahârâjas, so often mentioned. This particular mode of representing the scene has not hitherto been noted.

On the same photograph is another relief (fig. 7) which exhibits the same style of sculpture in so marked a way that we can hardly mistake in ascribing both to the same chisel. The individualization of the faces is particularly marked.

Fig. 7. Brâhman Explaining Mâyâ's Dream.

The central figure is a royal personage seated upon a throne with a high and very antique style of back, and a canopy overhead hung with tassels: below is a foot-rest. Behind the throne, at each end, stand *chaurî*-bearers with their fly-flaps, the face of one being destroyed. In front, on each hand, are two individuals, seated on what seem to be cushioned stools carved with some care. Each holds a round bottle or vase in his left hand, and the figure to the left of the king is the older, and raises his right hand addressing him. Naturally, the scene represented suggests the story of the Brâhman explaining to *S*uddhodana the dream of Mâyâ previous to the birth of Gautama.[1] The style of the sculpture is archaic and striking, if not artistically very accurate. The pillar shown on the right end of the slab has a characteristically Greek base, and the capital is equally of Western design: the same may be noted also in fig. 6. This interesting sculpture has not reached the Indian Museum, and we do not know its dimensions.

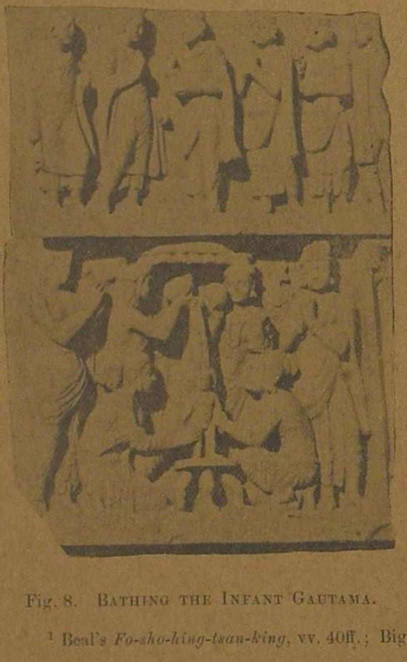

Fig. 8. Bathing the Infant Gautama.

Fig. 9. The Mahâbhinishkramana or Renunciation.

[1] Beal's *Fo-sho-king-tsan-king*, vv. 40ff.; Bigandet, *Legend of Gautama*, vol. I., pp. 29f., &c.

A couple of small panels, possibly from the same place as the last two, bear two scenes (fig. 8). The upper one represents two figures, bareheaded, the front one with a nimbus and *krobylos*—almost certainly Buddha,—who meet four others wearing turbans,—differently dressed, and perhaps bearing presents,—the first of whom the Buddha converses with. The lower slab evidently represents the traditional bathing of the infant Siddhârtha Gautama by two streams of water which were sent by the Devas and appeared, as the legends say, like pillars of silver, to bathe him.

From the Loriyân Tangai ruins comes the slab (fig. 9) which measures 19 inches each way, and is in exceedingly good preservation. The scene—Gautama renouncing his home—is a favourite one among the Gandhâra sculptures, but is here represented in a slightly different way from the usual one. The white horse Kanthaka is here seen from the flank, and we can note his trappings. His feet are borne up by *two* Devas or Yakshas, as mentioned in the Chinese version of the *Buddhacharita*[1] (I. 5. 411). Chhandaka holds the umbrella over his master's head; *S*akra, with the *vajra* on his palm, follows close behind in the air; three other Devas,—one of them bearing a short sword,—appear to the front; and two figures, one of them holding a bow, stand respectfully before the horse: the crowd of gods who are said to have attended the departure of Siddhârtha are thus represented (*Lalita Vistara*, xv.). The sculpture is not of the early and best style, but is otherwise an interesting representation of the conception of the scene.

Among the pieces recently added to the British Museum is one fragment (fig. 10) from Kafarkoṭ in Swât, somewhat different in the style of art from the usual. It is about 8 inches high and 14 inches long at the upper edge, with five figures on it. To the right is seated the Buddha, his right shoulder and arm bare, and his hands in an unusual *mûdra*; on his left stands a Bhikshu with both his arms covered by his vesture, only the right hand appearing at his breast; on the other side stands the *vajra*-bearer, in this case quite nude except for a very narrow loin-cloth.

Fig. 10. Buddha and Bodhisattva (British Museum).

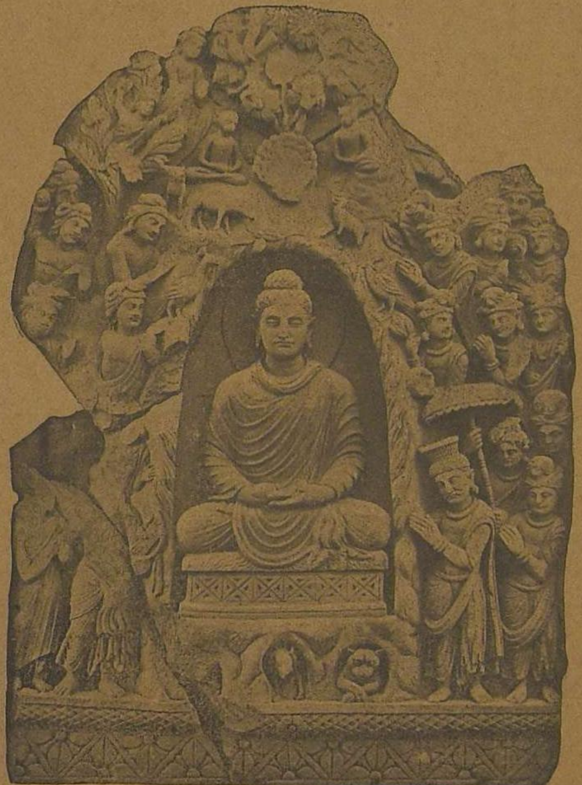

Fig. 11. Buddha visited by *S*akra at the Indrasaila Cave.

To this day, in Nepâl, Vajrapâṇi wears no necklaces, earrings, or bracelets, nor holds a lotus flower in his hands. This figure so far agrees with this, and is a different representation altogether from what we have hitherto met with in these sculptures, and is probably due to a less educated local influence. The next figure is seated on an *âsana*, similar to that on which the Buddha is placed. His breast and stomach are bare, but he has necklaces, earrings and bracelets, and in his left hand holds a small jar, while the right is upraised as if he were speaking. He is a Boddhisattva—one of the creations of the Mahâyâṇa school—and probably represents Maitreya or Ajita (the coming Buddha), who is the only Bodhisattva recognised by the Hinayâṇa and Southern Buddhists, and is often placed along with the four past Buddhas. His attendant holds a bunch of flowers in his right hand and some roundish object in his left.

We next pass to a sculpture from Loriyân Tangai, which has been noticed by Dr. Th. Bloch (*Proc. As. Soc. Beng.*, 1898, p. 186). It is on a slab 3 feet 10 inches high by 2 feet 8 inches wide, and has been carved with considerable skill. The same subject is found also on a sculpture from Mathurâ, now in the Calcutta Museum, and again, in a very archaic form, on a fragment from the Bharhut stûpa, as

[1] *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XIX., p. 57; conf. vol. XLIX., pt. i., p. 61.

also at Gayâ, and perhaps at Sâñchi.[1] It represents the visit of *S*akra and his retinue, with the Gandharva harper Pañchaśikha, to the Buddha whilst he was living in the Indraśailaguhâ—a cave near Buddha-Gayâ. The entrance of the cave is surrounded by flames to represent the glory of the teacher "resplendent with a halo of many colours, proceeding to a fathom's length all round his person." Above and below, the birds, beasts, and trees indicate the isolation of the place. Indra appears as a royal personage on the right, doing reverence to the ascetic, with his parasol-bearer close behind, and the Devas of his train behind on both sides. The figure of the Gandharva musician, on the other side, has been much damaged by the fracture of the stone, but his harp is still visible.

In the Bharhut, Sâñchî and Gayâ sculptures, the figure of Buddha was never represented; for Buddhism, as presented by its founder, was not of the nature of a cult,—it was a philosopy, an atheist theory of life. When *S*âkymuni passed away he ceased to exist, and worship of what was extinct was absurd. His memory might be cherished, but its natural symbols were the vacant seat, the footprints, or some emblem of his teaching. Yet the instincts of humanity could not for long be satisfied with precepts and theories having no external sanction nor offering any superior or divine aids to human struggles. The reaction was through a worship of the Dharma or Law, to forms of prayer to higher powers,—Bodhisattvas and Dhyâni Buddhas of their own creation,—and finally to images multiplied beyond those of any other idolators in the world. The figure of the founder naturally became the most prominent, and the Mathurâ and Swât examples, carved during the first century A.D., and later, always make it central. This instance may well belong to the best period of Gandhâra work.

Fig. 12. The Sermon at Benares (Calcutta).

From Loriyân Tangai also came the slab represented on fig. 12. It measures 2 feet 3 inches in length and 16 inches in height; but several faces in the large group have been damaged, as well as the rich floral cornice over the scene. It is the well-known scene of Buddha's first sermon in the Deer-park (M*ri*gadâva) at Isipatana in the vicinity of Benares. "To listen to the first proclaiming of the law, evening—like a lovely female—came; the various beings in the world all assembled, that they might receive the ambrosia and nectar of Nirvâṇa." Then "Buddha opened his mouth and preached the *Dharma-chakra Sûtra*," and "the oldest of the five ascetics, Kauṇḍinya, entered the first path, as did an *asañkya* of Devas, &c." We have here the five ascetics seated listening to Buddha; the deer below his seat indicate the place; the pillar supporting the *triśula* and wheel are representative of the religious law (*dharma*); and behind appear the representatives of the Devas, some throwing down flowers on the teacher. On his left we cannot fail to recognise the constant attendant *S*akra with a large carefully moulded head, distinguished by the beard and moustache.

The four sacred places to which pilgrimages were to be made by pious Buddhists were,[2]—the scene of Buddha's birth or the Lumbinî garden; the place of his enlightenment or the Vajrâsana at Buddha-Gayâ; the place where he first preached his *Dharma*[3] at Isipatana; and the place, near Kuśinagara, where he passed away "in that utter passing away which leaves nothing whatever behind." Hence these four scenes are naturally among the most frequent subjects of representation in the sculptures.

The story relates that when Siddhârtha arrived at Isipatana the five ascetics who resided there "were compelled to come towards him and worship. They afterwards washed his feet, and enquired familiarly about his

[1] *Ancient Monuments of India*, pl. lx. 1; Anderson's *Cat. Ind. Mus.*, pt. I., p. 182; Cunningham, *Bharhut St.*, p. 88, and pl. xxviii. 4; *Mahâbodhi*, pl. viii. 6; Fergusson, *Tree and Serp. Worsh.*, pl. xxix. 1, p. 138. See S. Hardy, *Man. Buddh.*, pp. 298f.; Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, vol. II., p. 180.

[2] T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Suttas* in *Sac. Bks. of the East*, vol. XI., p. 90.

[3] *Buddhist Suttas*, p. 155.

Fig. 13. Washing the Master's Feet (Lahor).

health; but Gautama informed them that they must not address him as an equal; he was now a supreme Buddha." The sculpture (fig. 13), from the Lahor Museum, apparently represents the washing of Buddha's feet,—two of the other figures bringing water. At the Kaṇheri Caves are still to be seen basins excavated in the rock, beside the stone benches at the entrances of some of the caves, apparently for the very purpose of washing the feet of newly arrived guests.

Fig. 14. Presentation of Bowls to Buddha (Lahor).

The next illustration (fig. 14), also from the Lahor Museum, is the presentation of the bowls brought to Buddha by the Four Mahârâjas or demon kings, so often referred to, who guard the four quarters of the world. The first food offered to the Buddha after his temptation was by two merchants and consisted of honey and wheat. But Gautama reflecting that he must have an alms-bowl (*pâtra*), the Mahârâjas each brought one of gold, which he refused; then they brought silver, emerald, and ruby dishes, which were also refused; lastly, each brought an earthenware bowl, and Buddha "causing them to unite in one (lest there should be jealousy), accepted the one from all."

The legend of the Pâtra is a long one: the bowl is now said to be kept in Sâgara's palace at the bottom of the sea, but on the advent of Maitreya as the next Buddha it will divide into the original four, each of which is to be guarded by a Mahârâja, as it is the palladium of Buddhism.

Fig. 15. Buddha Interviewed.

The illustration (fig. 15) is not so easily interpreted. The panel was dug up in the ruins of Takht-i-Bâhî in December 1897, after the Malakand expedition, and, along with the next, from the same site, is now in the possession of Miss J. E. Hume, at Harbanswâla, Dehra-Dun.

The scene is animated and expressed with vigour, though unfortunately many of the figures have been injured. The Buddha stands forward addressing five figures, of which the nearest to him at least is a monk. Behind them are Devas with flowers to cast down upon him. At his left hand, as usual, stands Vajrapâṇi or *S*akra, who looks at a figure kneeling at his side; and beyond him a figure under a tree appears to be retiring, while in the background are two more Devas. The scene probably represents some episode from the legendary life rather than a *Jâtaka* or birth-story.

Fig. 16. Buddha and the Nâgas.

The representations of Vajrapâṇi vary with almost every scene, yet he is always distinctly marked out from the other personages in the groups. In the next panel (fig. 16), which is also from Takht-i-Bâhî, we have another example of this. The beard, moustache, and wavy or curly hair, with the bare chest, are usual characteristics; but here he wears some sort of head-dress that we do not meet with elsewhere. He holds the end of the *vajra*, which has assumed a very compact form, in the palm of his left hand. Some personage with a nimbus stands behind him with joined hands: but the interest of the scene centres in the chaitya under a tree from which rise a Nâga and Nâginî with joined hands, whom Buddha addresses; the snake-hoods over their heads always distinguish them, and they are most frequently represented, as here, only to the waist. These Nâgas are a marked feature in all Mongolian superstitions, and also among the Dravidian cults. They are the second of the eight classes of demi-gods, who are always enumerated in the order—Devas, Nâgas, Râkshasas, Gandharvas, Asuras, Garuḍas, Kinnaras, and Mahorâgas. The Nâgas are represented with a human head and the body of a serpent. They are fabled to reside under the Trikûṭa rocks, supporting Meru, and also in the waters of lakes, springs, rivers, &c., watching over great treasures, causing rain and certain maladies, and becoming dangerous when in anger. They are very frequently represented in sculpture as emerging from the ground or a[illegible]form, as in this sculpture, but also, as in the

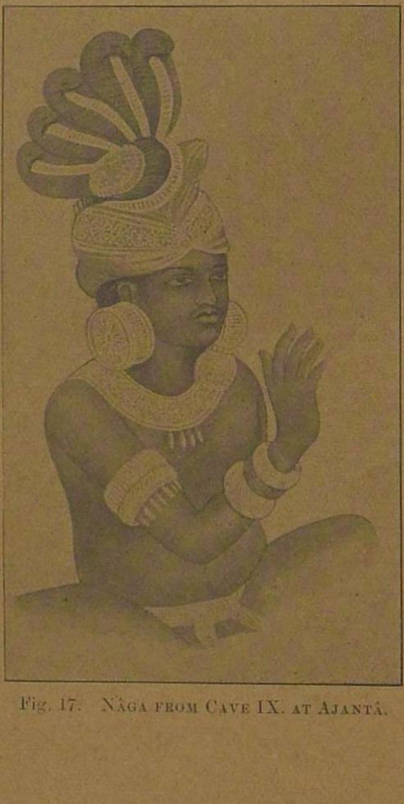

Fig. 17. Nâga from Cave IX. at Ajantâ.

Ajaṇṭâ paintings and sculpture, with human bodies[1] (figs. 17 and 18). In one instance we have a representation

Fig. 18. Nâga Chief, Ajantâ Cave I.

Fig. 19. Nâga and Nâginî, from Ajantâ Cave II.

Fig. 20. Nâga from Cave II.

from behind of how the hood of the snake was supposed to grow from the back of the Nâga (fig. 20). And again, when in the water, these creatures are represented with snake-tails (fig. 19).

The Nâgas are the subjects of Virupâksha (one of the four kings of the quarters), and who is perhaps a Buddhist form of *S*iva, who is well known as Virûpâksha, Nâganâtha, and Nâgabhûshana. Muchilinda was a Nâga chief, the tutelary deity of a lake near Gayâ, and protected the Buddha; Apalâla was the guardian Nâga of the source of the Swât or *S*ubhavastu river of Udyâna, and as the legend tells, he was converted by *S*âkyamuni shortly before his Nirvâṇa. Elâpatra is another Nâgarâja who consulted Buddha about rebirth in a higher condition.[2]

In the background of this scene (fig. 16) are three spirits, perhaps Gandharvas rejoicing at the presence of Buddha: one of them wears a garland, and is about to cast a handful of flowers on Buddha.

These Gandharvas rank fourth in the classes of demigods, and are generally represented as celestial musicians, specially connected with *S*akra. They have chiefs, like Panchasika, Supriya, and Tumburu, and are represented in the legends as honouring Buddha. There is another class of beings, the Kinnaras,—the horse-headed

Fig. 21. Gandharvas from Ajantâ, Cave XVII., &c.

[1] *Cave Temples*, p. 317, and pl. xxxix.; *Notes on Ajanta Paintings*, p. 19, and pl. iii.; and Griffiths' *Ajantâ Paintings*, pp. 10, 19.

[2] Beal, *Romantic Hist. of Buddha*, pp. 276ff; *Si-yu-ki*, vol. I., p. 137; Cunningham, *Bharhut Stûpa*, p. 27; *Vishnu Purana* (Hall's ed.), vol. II., pp. 74, 285, 287, vol. V., p. 251.

musicians of Kubera,—which are in danger of being confounded with the Gandharvas, especially as they, like all other mythical beings, are represented as honouring Buddha on numerous occasions. And it may even be doubted if the artists themselves made a definite distinction between them in their own minds (see fig. 21). The Vidyâdharas and Gandharvas are closely allied—both being attendants of *S*akra.

The slab (fig. 16) was found lying face downwards, under some debris, having apparently fallen from a wall above. With it was dug up a copper coin representing on one side a lion and on the other a man riding on an elephant, and is said to belong to the coinage of Huvishka, about A.D. 120.[1]

Among the Loriyân Tangai sculptures are several ikons or images to be worshipped casually at least. Their variety might reward careful study. Among these fig. 22 is not the least interesting: it is on a slab measuring

Fig. 22. Buddha on Lotus-Seat and Bodhisattvas (Calcutta).

1 foot 10 inches in length by 16 inches high. Buddha, with features of quite a new type, is seated on the *padmâsana* or lotus throne in the attitude of teaching; a flowering plant overshadows him; and above is a canopy of three compartments, of which the two side ones have pointed arches; the joinings and ends of the three roofs are finished with tiger heads in Western pattern; and in each arch, over the head of its occupant, hangs a bunch of pearls or gems. The lotus on which Buddha sits is supported by two small figures rising out of the earth; in the one on the proper right we might be tempted to recognise Vajrapâṇi, but the turban, the covered breast, and roundish or conch-shaped object in his right hand is not in favour of this. A roundish object also lies on the seat in front of Buddha's left knee. The corresponding figure on the other side,—with moustache, round object in one hand, and a mace (?) in the other—is new to us. Behind the first a shaven-headed monk kneels in adoration; behind the other, the figure appears to be a female.

At each side of the central figure sits a Bodhisattva; that on the proper right probably Mañjuśrî (he 'of glorious beauty') holding in his hand a book of Buddha's teaching; and the other attendant may be Avalokiteśvara, with a flower in his left hand: but this identification may require support.

Another example (fig. 23) of similar type, on a slab 15 inches broad by 17 high, presents the Buddha in the same attitude, but only one kneeling figure on each side

Fig. 23. Buddha with Bodhisattvas. (Indian Museum, Calcutta).

[1] Both panels have been given in *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, 1899, pp. 422f., with a note by Prof. Macdonell.

appears below the lotus seat. Buddha sits under flowering foliage and clusters of flowers or gems hang by the sides of the heads of the two attendant Bodhisattvas. The head-dresses of the latter differ a little, but hardly warrant us in identifying the individuals: the right-hand attendant may be Mahâsthânaprâpta, as elsewhere indicated: and he, in turn, was probably a Mahâyâṇa deification of Maudgalyâyana, and the other Padmapâṇi. Of course, it may, with equal probability perhaps, be meant for Mañjuśrî; but where an identification is doubtful, it may be judicious to wait. General Cunningham identified the Vajra-bearer with Devadatta, the cousin and adversary of Buddha; and one writer at least inferred from this and the absence of clothing that Devadatta must have been a Digambara Jain.[1] The other attendant in this sculpture is at least the representative of Padmapâṇi.

Among the photographs received from Calcutta[1] is one (fig. 24) which presents almost a replica of the central figure of the preceding, but it wants the *ûrṇâ* or prominence between the eyebrows, and has the robe over both

Fig. 24. Buddha from Swât.

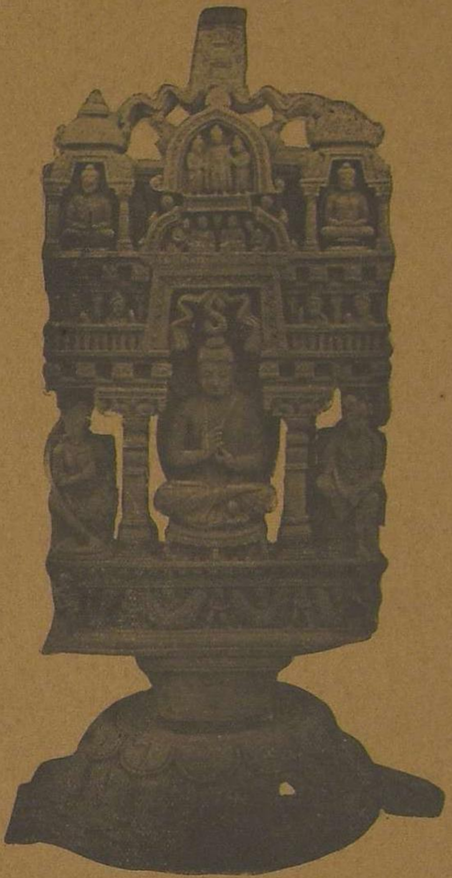

Fig. 25. Buddha in Shrine (Calcutta).

shoulders, with the hands in the lap—the attitude of meditation. The eyes are carved in the half-open way found in so many of these sculptures, and the two small worshipping figures below the *âsana* appear to represent a man and woman. This slab is not in the Indian Museum.

The next sculpture (fig. 25) is from Loriyân Tangai and is in the Indian Museum; it measures 2 feet 9 inches in height by 15 inches wide. As will be observed, it is cut through the slab round the central figures. It is a remarkably fine piece of sculpture, and must have been regarded as a sort of altar. The central figure is, of course, the Buddha on the *padmâsana*, in the teaching attitude; his right shoulder and arm are bare, and the robe is very carefully traced out. Over his head is a sort of canopy from which hangs a garland of flowers in a double loop, descending to touch the *ushnîsha* or *krobylos* on his head. On each side, supporting the canopy, is a Persepolitan pillar with humped bullocks on their capitals; the base and shaft are only a slightly enriched copy of the pillars we find at Nâsik in the second century A.D.

On the architrave above them are animal heads and the Buddhist rail or lattice pattern. Outside the pillars sit two Bodhisattvas—probably the same as on preceding examples. From above the architrave people (or Devas) look down, and over these is a cornice, supporting a small model of a temple at each end, in which sit two Buddhas. The central space is in two tiers,—the lower having two small figures of Buddha seated and worshippers; the upper, an arched panel containing a standing Buddha and two companions. Below the [illegible] figures is a cornice over a frieze ornamented by little figures carrying a great flower roll, such as is so comn[illegible]

[1] Sir Monier Williams, *Buddhism, &c.*, pp. 52, 474.

[2] Dr. Theodor Bloch, of the Indian Museum, obtained for me the opportunity of purchasing prints of Mr. Caddy's photographs.—J.B.

at Amarâvatî, with a worshipping figure at each end. The stone fits into a socket in a base representing an inverted lotus.

One of the most richly carved pieces in the series from Loriyân Tangai is a pediment slab (fig. 26), measuring now 3 feet wide by about 25 inches high,—a portion having been broken from the top of the arch. On the capitals of pillars at each side sit divine beings adoring the Buddha who occupies the centre. In a band just inside the outer moulding of the arch are figures, perhaps of Devas, one above another; within this is a torus covered with leaf or scale ornament, and inside this again two arches divide the area into a semi-circular and two lunulate spaces. The narrow ends of the lunular areas are occupied by dragons having snake bodies, fish tails, wings, forefeet, and human busts. Above them are human or divine figures worshipping Buddha enthroned at the apex of each arch. In the semi-circle below, Buddha sits under a canopy and preaches his Law to a group of females on his right and males on his left, while figures look down from balconies above on each side. Buddha in the Tushita heavens, whither he is said to have gone to teach and convert his mother, may be suggested by this scene: but the identification is not altogether certain.

Fig. 26. Pediment Slab (Calcutta).

Fig. 27. Pediment Slab and Fragments from Loriyân Tangai.

Another similar slab, measuring 3 feet across by 2 feet 9 inches high, from the same locality, is represented (fig. 27). It is similarly divided, but has a figure of Buddha on the florid capital at each side. The dragons fill the ends of the lunular arches, and in the upper one a dâgaba under a tree takes the place of Buddha and is honoured by worshippers. In the semi-circle below, Buddha stands erect and addresses the Nâgas, perhaps Elâpatra the Nâgarâja who was so anxious to consult Buddha.[1] Behind the Buddha, Vajrapâṇi attends as usual, with him are two shaven ascetics; behind are Devas honouring the teacher. One figure flies overhead in an usual way; and another seems to dance in the air holding a flower in his hand. The other fragments which company it on the photograph need hardly be described.

[1] Beal's *Rom. Legend of Buddha* pp. 276-280.

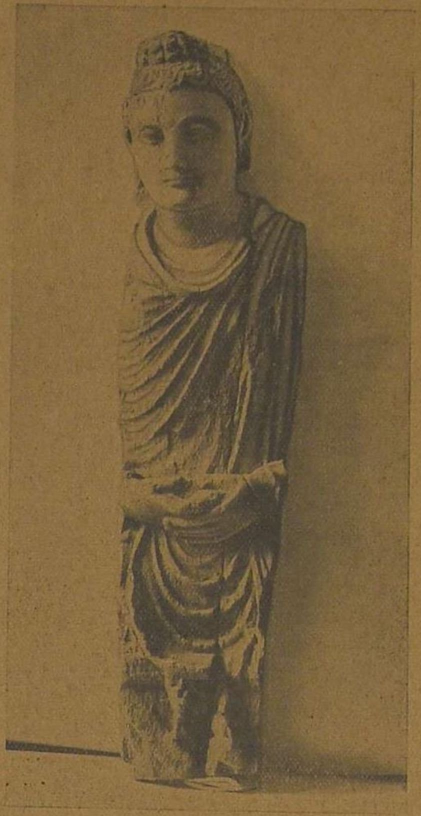

Fig. 28. In Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

About a year ago a much injured statue of Buddha was brought to England by Mr. J. P. Rawlins. It stands about 2 feet high, but the feet and sides have been cut off (fig. 28). It was excavated "amidst some ancient sites of buildings on the west side of the Indus, just outside the Hazâra district:" more definite indications have not been obtained. The figure was secured for the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge. The treatment of the drapery does not, perhaps, indicate the best period of art, but the face is certainly striking and of excellent workmanship.

The Bodhisattvas, as has already been remarked, belong only to the Northern Mahâyâṇa schools. Except Maitreya, they are unknown in Ceylon, Siam, and Burma. In Ceylon and Siam the usual attendants or supporters of Buddha in the temple shrines are *S*âriputtra and Maudgalyâyana,—the "disciples of the right and left hand,"—with Ananda, Kâśyapa, &c., standing by; in China Ânanda and Kâśyapa frequently occupy the like positions, or with *S*âriputtra and Maudgalyâyana, Mañjuśrî and Samantabhadra, form a group of six beside the Buddha. And in many of the Indian cave sculptures we find the attendant figures, as it were, in a state of transition, holding *chauris* as servants, and also with some of the insignia of the later divinities.

As Buddhism spread the converts naturally carried into their new religion much of their reverence for the old Hindu gods, and they found that in the traditions offered them, it already embraced Indra, Brahma, and others of their former divinities. Among the Hinayâṇa sects in the south, little change was made: Vishṇu, Brahma, Narâyaṇa, &c., were simply accepted under their Hindu names.

But with the Mahâyâṇa schools, whilst these gods were received, they were made to fit into an elaborate system of nomenclature and myth by which each was assigned a place in the illimitable æons of their cosmogony: Indra or *S*akra became *S*atamanya and Vajrapâṇi, and his heaven of Swarga was named Traiyastrimśa-loka. Brahma, so well known in Bauddha legend, had his chief attributes transferred to Mañjuśrî—the "lamp of wisdom" and of supernatural power: and still Sarasvati continued to be one of his wives, the other being Lakshmî. Avalokiteśvara or Padmapâṇi again has some analogy to the attributes of Vishṇu or Padmanâbha.[1] Virupâksha, one of the "four kings," bears one of *S*iva's well-known names; the Sapta Tathâgatas take the place of the Brâhman Seven *Ri*shis; and even Gaṇeśa has been taken over both as Vinâyaka and as the demon Vinataka.

Fig. 29. A Bodhisattva.

Then Maudgalyâyana, the arhat, became Mahâsthâma or Mahâsthânaprâpta Bodhisattva and still kept his place at Buddha Amitâbha's left hand in a popular triad analogous to the *S*aiva Trimurti. But in the easy-going way of such a religion, Ajita or Maitreya—the Buddha of the future—was also given the same place, and with *S*âkyamuni and Avalokiteśvara forms an alternative Triratna or triad.

This then seems to be the most rational theory we can form of the genesis of these rather superfluous creations of the Northern schools of Buddhism. In the later developments of Nepalese and Tibetan sectaries their rôle is enlarged and varied.

When first adopted by the Mahâyâṇa sects, the Bodhisattvas were probably best known by names denoting some easily recognised attribute, but which, in course of time, gave way to the hierarchical nomenclature as the forms of the old gods faded out of the regards of the later religionists. And the new members of the Pantheon were in no want of designations: one of them—Vikautuka Bodhisattva—had no less than 108 names; Mañjuśrî is variously styled Balavrata, Mahâmati, Jñânadarpana, Khadgin, Kumârarâja, Daṇḍin, Mañjubhadra, Sthirachakra, Vajradhara, *S*ikhâdhara, Nilotpalin, *S*ârdûlavâhana, Si*m*hakela, Vibhuśaṇa,

[1] See *Arch. Sur. W. Ind.*, vol. V., pp. 14, 17.

&c. The identification of the images of different Bodhisattvas is only possible in special instances: they mostly bear a very close resemblance to one another (fig. 29).

Different schools, too, introduced or specially favoured particular Bodhisattvas, *e.g.*, the Yogâchâryas exalt Samantabhadra, Vajrasattva, Mañjuśrî (under the designation of Vajrapâṇi), Ratnapâṇi, &c. Their number has thus become legion: the following list of those more frequently mentioned by name in Bauddha literature might easily be augmented:—

Akshayamati
Anantachâritra
Anantavikrâmin
Anikshiptadhura
Avalokiteśvara or Padmapâṇi
Bhadrapâla
Bhaishajyasamudgata
Buddhaśrijñâna
Dharaṇindhara
Gadgadeśvara
Ghantâpâṇi
Kshitigarbha
Mahâpratibhâna
Mahâsthânaprâpta
Mahâvikrâmin
Maitreya or Ajita
Mañjuśrî or Mahâmati
Mârîchi
Nakshatrarâja
Nityodyukta
Padmaśîla
Padmaśrî
Pradânasûra
Prajñâkûṭa
Pratibhâna
Pûrṇachandra
Pûrṇamaitrâyaṇîputtra
Râstrapâla
Ratnachandra
Ratnapâṇi
Ratnaprabha
Ruchiraketu
Sadâparibhûta
Samantabhadra
Sarvasattvapriyadarśana
Sarvârthanâman
Satatasamitâbhiyukta
Sî*m*ha
*S*rîgarbha
Supratishṭhitachâritra
Trailokavikrâmin
Triratnârya
Vajragandha
Vajrapâṇi or Vajradhara
Vajrasattva
Vikautuka
Viśishṭachâritra
Visuddhachâritra
Visvapâṇi or Akâśagarbha
&c., &c.

Some of the more prominent of these have certain emblems by which they may be recognised: Avalokiteśvara or Padmapâṇi has a white lotus in one hand, and on the front of his crown or *mukuṭa* is a small figure of a seated Buddha. Vajrapâṇi has a *dâgaba* or *chaitya* as a cognizance (*chihna*) on his forehead and the *vajra* in his hand; but Mahâsthânaprâpta also appears with the same *chaitya* and with a diamond *vajra* supported on a flower. Mañjuśrî has a book, either in his hand or on a flower, and a sword; and Akâśagarbha or Visvapâṇi is recognised by the same weapon placed on a flower; and so on.

Buddhism, so like Jainism in many details, has apparently borrowed also from it the *Sâsanadevî* or protecting and instructing goddess of the Tîrtha*m*karas; and so *S*âkyamuni had Suddhavâsadeva as his guardian angel who brought about his conversion.

Fig. 30. Garuda and Nâgas (Brit. Mus.).

Returning from this digression as to the Bodhisattvas, we may notice some other sculptures, and among them a fragment in the British Museum, about 6 inches broad by 7½ inches in height (fig. 30). It should have been mentioned in the former paper, as an additional and remarkable example of the Garuḍa or Suparṇi carrying off his prey. The work is somewhat coarse, and the head of the great bird has been broken off; but he has been represented as bearing off a male and female Nâga—one in each claw, while a second female lies below, a male stands on the proper right, and a fifth figure has been on the left. This sculpture helps to confirm the interpretation given by Prof. Grünwedel of those sculptures found in Yûzufzâî that at first suggested an adaptation of the group of Ganymede and the eagle by Leocharis.

Another photograph of a sculpture from Swât (fig. 31) presents us with Buddha addressing an ascetic, sitting in his *pânsâla* or leaf hut, while behind the former stands his protecting genius *S*akra or Vajrapâṇi in his usual scanty clothing, abundant hair, and clasping his mace in the right hand. The meeting here represented naturally suggests that with Gayâ-Kâśyapa; but there is hardly sufficient incident in the scene quite to confirm this: had there been other sculptures from adjoining slabs, they would probably have enabled us to read it with some degree of confidence.

Among the many detached pieces of sculpture from the Swât districts of which we have only photographs by Mr. Caddy, and the originals of which are not in the Indian Museum, two more pieces are represented (fig. 32). The measurements are, of course, unknown, but the head of Buddha appears to be of some size, and is a strikingly good piece of workmanship, showing the Gandhâra style of art at about its best. The face is distinctly less

Fig. 31. Buddha and Ascetic.

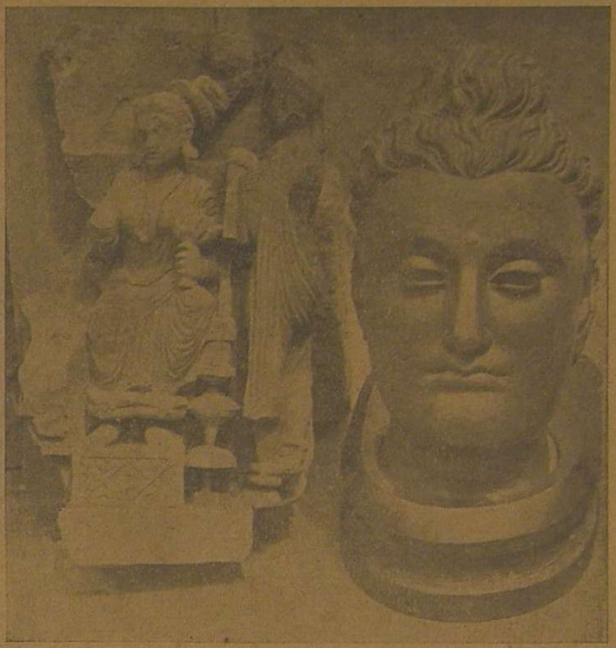

Fig. 32. Head of Buddha and Fragment of Sculpture.

Indian than usual, but dignified and calm; the *ushnîshna* is manipulated into a sort of Greek krobylos; and the ear-lobes, so far as the photograph indicates, are not lengthened downwards in the usual way. The other fragment shows a lady or queen seated in a chair or throne, holding a flower in her left hand, and wearing a peculiarly shaped head-dress, while a servant, perhaps a *chauri*-bearer, stands at her left. The remainder is gone.

The string courses, plinths or friezes are always ornamented by sculpture, and frequently by what, for want of a better name, may be called the roll-ornament, a festoon supported at intervals by little human figures, and the bights filled in sometimes with symbols, sometimes with animals or birds. The outer face of the great rail at Amarâvatî is a well-known example of this kind; but there are many specimens of its application also among the Gandhâra remains (see fig. 33).

Fig. 33. Part of a Frieze.

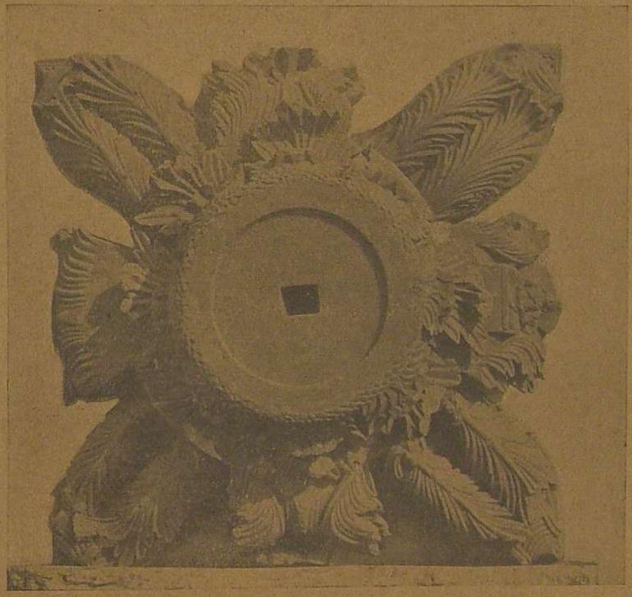

Fig. 34. Gandhâra Corinthian Capital (Calcutta).

The architectural features of the Gandhâra monasteries have been discussed more than once.[1] From Jamâlgiri and the Peshâwar valley the most frequent form of column is of the Corinthian style, the capital shortened but elaborately ornamented with the acanthus leaf. One example of such a capital (fig. 34) appears among the collection brought from Loriyân Tangai and its neighbourhood. The photograph presents it in a position which hardly admits of forming a correct idea of its artistic form, and there is no scale; but we can see that it is of the style elsewhere represented, and that on one face—probably the principal one—a seated Bodhisattva is introduced in the centre. From a proper point of view, this capital would probably not differ essentially from one represented in Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 173.

Small model stûpas were found in large abundance at Buddha-Gayâ, and in the Swât valley several were found, more or less disintegrated, but which might probably with proper care have been correctly pieced together on the spot by some one who saw the position in which the different portions were found and knew how to replace them. As it is, two restorations have been attempted.

[1] Fergusson, *Hist. Ind. and Eastern Archit.*, pp. 173f.; W. Simpson in *Trans. R. Inst. Br. Arch.*, 1894, pp. 94f.; &c.

One of these (fig. 35) is perhaps fairly correct, except that the piece on the top does not belong to it. The height to the top of the dome is 2 feet 6 inches, and the square base is in one piece, very carefully carved. On the side shewn are two compartments: that on the spectator's right is the return in state of the infant Gautama with his mother Mâyâdevî from the Lumbinî garden.[1] That to the left may be a representation of the interview of the *Ri*shi Asita Devala with Suddhodana respecting the future of the child. Another side of this base represents (1) Mâyâ on her couch and the descent of the white elephant, with four Devas looking down from two balconies; and (2) the Brâhman interpreting the dream to Suddhodana, which may be compared with another similar sculpture (fig. 7) given above. The third side represents (1) on the right end the great renunciation in a sculpture differing but little from the one given before (fig. 9); and (2) the giving back of Kaṇṭhaka to Chhanda, in which the horse is represented as on its knees in adoration of Gautama; *S*akra, as usual, stands with his *vajra* just behind him, and other five or six Devas appear on the scene. Of the fourth side only fragments have been preserved: it represented the birth and the miraculous bathing of the child.

The tier forming the lowest one of the drum of the stûpa contains a series of seated Buddhas. Above this, the second and third tiers have perhaps been transposed in position: the one has a chequer pattern surmounted

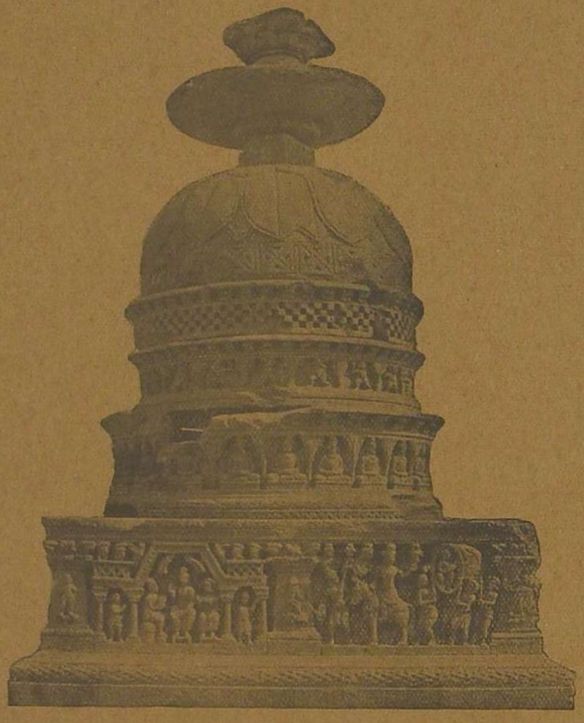

Fig. 35. Miniature Stûpa.—Imperfect Restoration (Calcutta).

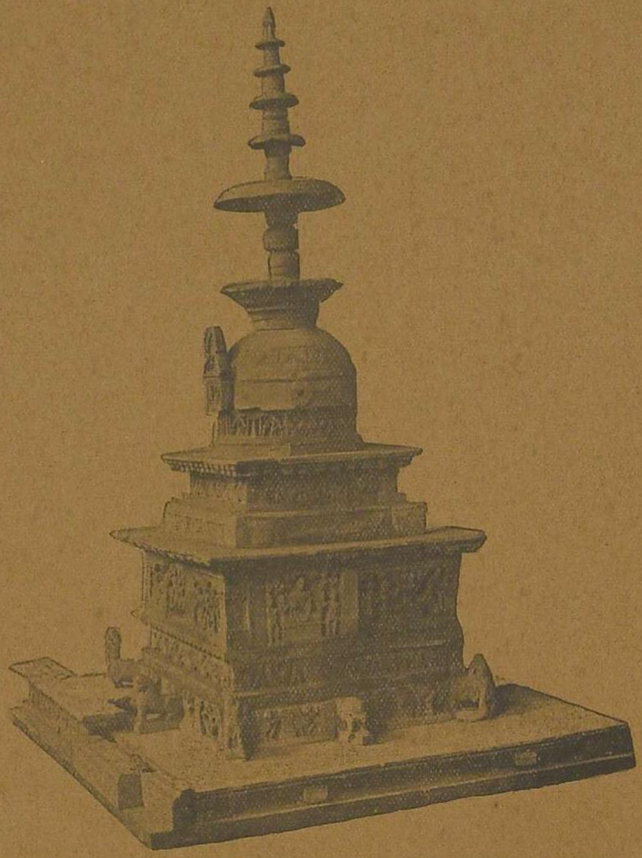

Fig. 36. Stûpa: Tentative Restoration from various pieces (Calcutta).

by a modillion cornice, and the other an alternation of trees and small Atlantes supporting a second cornice of the same pattern. Over all is the dome carved with large leaves as a covering, and crowned by a square box-shaped capital (*gala*), which was doubtless originally surmounted by an umbrella (*chhatra*).

The other stûpa (fig. 36) is much less satisfactorily put together from various pieces which could hardly have all belonged to the same structure. It is scarcely probable that, till very recent times, so small a *garbha* or dome would have been originally placed over so large a double pedestal: more likely the lower base belonged to another and larger Chaitya, and the first tier above the dome is out of all proportion to the latter, while the tier below it is as evidently out of place. The sculptured facets or shields attached to the dome, of which one is left, form a peculiarity not met with before, and seem to indicate the origin of the Nepalese practice[2] of placing one of the Buddhas on each of the four faces of their great Chaityas. The lions or Si*m*has at the corners and centre of each face, too, have not been remarked except in the Swât stûpas. The Loriyân Tangai stûpa itself was a hemisperical dome with scarcely any basement, but with figures projecting at regular intervals round the lower courses of the dome.

[1] Compare this with the scene represented in Arnold's *Light of Asia*, ill. ed., p. 159.

[2] *Notes on Ajanta Rock-Temples*, &c., p. 99.

Fig. 37. Pedestal. (Calcutta).

The last of our illustrations is a pedestal (fig. 37) from Swât, which has carried some image. On the front it has two compartments containing respectively a Buddha and a Bodhisattva, each with two worshippers. This juxtaposition of Buddha the human teacher, who has long since attained to *Nirvâṇa*, and the Bodhisattva—perhaps conceived of as a spiritual and accessible presence able to help the worshipper,—is a marked characteristic of Gandhâra iconography. The panels are enclosed by pillars in relief with very long bracket capitals, and above is a modillion cornice.

Among the other sculptures found at Loriyân was one, about 5 feet 4 inches in height, of a statue without the head. Attached is a base sculptured with four figures worshipping a Bodhisattva, and on a plinth below this, on a surface measuring 16½ by 5½ inches, is an inscription of one and a half line in Karoshṭhi characters. This is transcribed by M. Senart as—

> Sa III.C.X.4.4 [or 318] proṭhavadasa di 20.4.III. [27] Budhgho*s*hasa dana*m*
> saghorumasa sadorabhatisa.

The word *saghorumasa*, in the genitive, presents a difficulty, but reading it as *samgharamasa*, he considers the translation to be—

"The year 318, the 27th of Praushṭhâpada, the gift of [this] samghârâmasa by Buddhaghosa with his wife and his brother."

The date is the latest that has hitherto been found on these monuments from the North-West in Karoshṭhi characters; and from this circumstance it has re-directed M. Senart's attention to the Hashṭnagar inscription,[1] figured and mentioned in the former article (p. 28), and the date of which had been variously read.

M. Senart now remarks:—"The inscription expresses distinctly the hundreds: but how? General Cunningham at once read the figures 274; that date was accepted without challenge, notably by the lamented Bühler. I have from the first proposed for the tens the correction of 80 (for 70) which Barth accepted. I must say I do not understand how it can be disputed, but no more do I understand, in presence of Mr. Vincent Smith's photograph, how we can rest satisfied with the transcription 200. It must assuredly be read 300. It is clear that the first of the three strokes does not represent the staff of the *s* of which the upper hook is pushed well to the right. There as here we have 300 and, if we suppose the two dates refer to a common era, our epigraph is earlier by 66 years than that of Hashṭnagar."

The same Swât valley which yields our inscription of 318, previously supplied another found by Colonel Maisey in the Kaladara Nadî, to the west of Dargai: this Dargai being that on the southern slope at the foot of Malakand. On this appears a date of two hundred years earlier, and of which the comparison cannot be overlooked.

"This inscription," continues M. Senart, "has been described and discussed by Bühler,[2] and it is this same circumstance that led M. Foucher to neglect communicating to me the impression he possesses; but no facsimile that I know of has been published: this is an omission which, as we shall see, it is important to supply. The ground of Kharoshṭhi epigraphy is still so little settled, so much sown with uncertainties and contingencies that only the largest experience, the most masterly knowledge, can assure against mistakes. The reading which Bühler put forth requires a double correction. I transcribe it thus:—

> Datia putrena thaidorena puka
> rani karavita sarvasapana puyae
> vasha (I.C.X.III.) 113 śravanasa 20,

and translate:—'Theodore, son of Dati, has made this water tank in honour of all serpents, the year 113, the 20th of *S*ravaṇa.'

"No one, I think, will hesitate to recognise with me in this *thaïdora*, a Theodoros. . . . What is certain is, that the revised reading of this dedication supplies us,—and it is, if I mistake not, for the first time—with a purely Greek name, belonging not to a dynasty, but to a simple individual. This is an interesting curiosity."

Our best established point for the era appears to be the epoch of Gondophares. He ruled about the middle of the first century A.D. His inscription gives his 26th year as in 103 of the era; a date very near to that of our Theodoros; at a time when Greek letters were still used on the coinage. The Panjtar inscription,[3] of which, unfortunately, we have no good reproduction, is dated in 122 and alludes to a "Kushan king." All these accom-

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVIII., p. 257; and *Jour. As. S. Beng.*, vol. LVIII., pp. 142f. and pl. x.
[2] *Wiener Zeitschr. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Bd. X., Ss. 55f., and *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XXV. (1896), pp. 141f.
[3] *Jour. As. S. Beng.*, vol. XXIII. (1854), p. 705; vol. XXXII. (1863), pp. 144-150; Cunningham, *Arch. Rep.*, vol. V., p. 61, and pl. xvi. 4.

modate themselves to an era beginning near the middle of the first century B.C. The later inscriptions need not necessarily imply a different era, and the probability is in favour of it, notwithstanding the apparent gap in the numerals, whilst the alphabet continues almost unchanged. This may imply some corrections in Bühler's series of variants of the Kharoshṭhî alphabet. Such is the substance of M. Senart's important remarks on these inscriptions.[1]

This conclusion points very distinctly to the old Mâlwâ or so-called Vikramâditya era, so prevalent in Western and Northern India, dating from B.C. 57. This would place Gondophares in A.D. 31 to 48 or later; the Theodorus inscription in A.D. 57; the Loriyân Tangai one in A.D. 262; and that of Hashṭnagar in A.D. 328,—all of them dates that lie within probable limits. M. Silvain Levi, indeed, suggests[2] that this is the era founded by Kanishka, and not that of A.D. 78, and that we should reckon his dates and those of his immediate successors from 57 B.C.; but MM. Specht[3] and Boyer[4] have from different sides shown that such a theory has no satisfactory basis. Nor does it, in any way, follow that the acceptance of B.C. 57 as the epoch of the Karoshṭhî inscriptions, would imply that it was founded by Kanishka; the figures of Buddha, found at Mathurâ, bearing epigraphs of Kanishka and Huvishka, can scarcely be earlier than the second century A.D., and contribute to the argument for Kanishka's date falling towards the end of the first century.

Loriyân or Lauriyân, it should be mentioned,—where the sculptures taken to Calcutta were found,—is the name of the *tangai* or valley on the northern slope of the Shâhkoṭ pass which leads from the Yûsufzaï district into the south of Swât. A little to the west of the foot of this pass Major Deane found the conspicuous remains of a memorial stûpa, which had not been examined at the date of his paper.[5] Loriyân is near the north end of the Shâhkoṭ pass, some way to the south-east of the large village of Aladand and near the hamlet of Piyatâna. The number of ruins in the vicinity and the traces of two ancient roads through the pass indicate that it was in early times a much frequented route between Udyâna and Gandhâra or Swât and Yûsufzai.

It may not be out of place to add here some of Prof. Grünwedel's comments on Buddhist iconography in his paper already referred to.[6] Speaking more especially of the representations of the Kâśyapa legend among the Gandhâra sculptures, he remarks:—"The separate compositions of the Gandhâra school are arranged after fixed types—one might almost fancy on model patterns—which, according to the space, or perhaps the means the artist wished to employ, are more or less numerous. It even appears that one and the same typical figure occurs in different functions and with different attributes. Thus there are, among the legends made out to have been represented, more or less rich, and even emblematic compositions: a scriptio plena and a scriptio defectiva. The latter may be so simplified even as to be unintelligible without fuller parallel compositions. Often the subject is so composed that Buddha appears as the middle figure, or a little to the side, in the attitude of the speaking or sacrificing general of ancient times [conf. *Veröffentl. aus dem Königl. Museum für Völkerkunde*, Bd. V, S. 130], before him, a figure in an adoring attitude, marked by some attributes, and more or fewer companions,—among whom various types are represented. Thus figures, who bring (or throw down) offerings of flowers, occasionally become besiegers who cast stones, &c.

"Such compositions—generally of a similar character—should not, I think, be regarded as representations of some fixed legend, but as tokens of honour to Buddha on account of some conversion, miracle, etc., wrought by him. Uniformity in relief, on architectural grounds, may have been the rule in adopting these forms.

"We should thus have an exact inversion of the methods of the Aśoka period. In these works the situation is always broadly and lovingly depicted, but usually without a central group, as the Buddha is wanting in them. In the typical Gandhâra representations, however, we get Buddha and his surroundings as the type, which is only externally marked by certain local signs, attributes, and the like, as belonging to a particular legend. In the later Buddhist art this special model has unfortunately become altogether too persistent.

"To return to the subject:—The representation of the conversion of Uruvilvâ Kâśyapa: the subject is represented on the eastern gate of the Sâñchi Stûpa,[7] and is a favourite Gandhâra one. The legend relates that Buddha converted the Brâhman ascetic Kâśyapa in his hermitage, by catching in his alms bowl a venomous snake that was in the Brâhman's little temple. While he was in the cell catching the animal, flames are said to have broken through the roof. The scholars of Kâśyapa tried in vain to extinguish them. This first part of the legend is fully represented on a Gandhâra relief.[8] The scholars seek to overpower the fire with their *lotas* filled with water. Kâśyapa, leaning on his staff, attends; behind him Buddha stands with the snake in his alms-bowl.

[1] *Jour. Asiat.*, 9me tom. XIII. (1899), pp. 526-37, kindly supplied in proof by the author; see also p. 555
[2] *Notes sur les Indo-Scythes*, pp. 76ff.
[3] *Jour. Asiat.*, 9me ser., t. X., pp. 152-193.
[4] *Ibid*, pp. 120-151.
[5] *Note on Udyâna and Gandhâra*, in *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, 1896, p. 671.
[6] *Globus*, 18 Marz, 1899, Ss. 172-175.
[7] Fergusson, *Tree and Serp. Worsh.*, pll. xxxi and xxxii, pp. 141-43; Grünwedel, *Handbuch Buddh. Kunst*, Ss. 62-64; and *Ind. Monuments*, pl. 132.
[8] *Indian Monuments*, pl. 131.

"But this relief belongs to the slabs of detailed narrative: it formed the upper portion of a larger sculpture, the under part of which is almost entirely destroyed. It has, therefore, nothing in common with the decorative representations referred to.

"The legend relates further, that Kâśyapa did not yet bow and submit himself. Buddha then caused the whole dwelling to be flooded, and before the eyes of the Brâhman, walked away over the water. Both scenes of the legend seem to have been employed to glorify Buddha as master 'over fire and water.' To this class and to the types above referred to belong two reliefs [*Ind. Monuments*, pll. 115, fig. 5, and 132]. On the second Buddha is seen standing, turned slightly towards the right, surrounded by laics—men and women; the *vajra* bearer,—this time a bearded figure,—follows him; water wells up before him, in which stand lotus flowers. That this should represent the water miracle of Uruvilvâ might seem doubtful, but Buddha holds in his right hand (like the ancient sacrificing general) the *pâtra*, which—under the influence of the foreign type—is represented as very small, and in which lies a snake. This shows the connexion of the relief with the Kâśyapa legend. In the other relief, Buddha, facing us with his right hand raised, stands among eight worshippers; water springs up under him, on which he stands; his nimbus is surrounded by flames. I believe that here we have the shortest form of the Uruvilvâ miracle: Buddha is glorified as master of the elements of fire and water.[1]

"It is interesting to compare with this the representation of the legend at Amarâvatî [Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pl. lxx]. This presentation is carved from the standpoint of the old school: Buddha, though wanting, is, nevertheless, indicated by the Dharma symbols."

The same critic further remarks on some of the representations of the Nirvâṇa scene, that "among the most striking features which the Gandhâra sculptures present, is the circumstance that, beside figures of the most perfect formation, instances of clumsiness occur which otherwise are only met with in works of primitive art. He refers to such examples as fig. 2 [that on pl. 4, fig. 5, of the previous paper, and *Indian Monuments*, pl. 121, fig. 2], which show the usual composition: the gods round the bed of the dying Buddha, the thunderbolt-bearer at his head, in front a praying monk, and a bottle-cooler and stand. There the well-composed figures at the feet of the Buddha, and the conventionally represented monk, alone form a contrast such as is presented only by a merely mechanical art, already decadent. The recumbent figure of the dying Buddha, according to every detail, is simply a standing figure laid down. If we turn round the picture so that the feet rest on the ground, we have simply the upright statue of Buddha before us."

In the *Handbuch*, pp. 159f, Prof. Grünwedel has pointed out "that the mechanical style of later Buddhist art, with its endless repetitions of Buddha and Bodhisattvas, is broken through in Tibet and Japan by an individualization which resulted in the representations of the incarnated saints of the church, whilst elsewhere (in Japan) it led even to caricature. This appropriation, inversion, &c., of ancient sacred types, to caricaturing copies had also invaded older compositions. The Nirvâṇa belongs to these," and Professor Grünwedel gives a "sketch from a Japanese sheet of pictures representing in that style the death of a jovial man of the world. His numerous lady friends, and even his lap dog, give clear expression to their grief at the death of the gentleman who lies before them represented as larger than them all."

In conclusion, it must be recognised that, for the proper interpretation of all Buddhist sculpture and painting, one of the first desiderata is a careful study of the legend book of the Buddhists—the Jâtaka collection. The sculptures at Bharhut, by their epigraphs, revealed the real intention of many of the scenes, and at Boro-Buḍur, Ajaṇṭâ, Sâñchi, and Amarâvatî, representations of the main scenes in these *Jâtakas* or Birth-stories have been recognised by students. The translation of the collection by Rhys Davids, Chalmers, Rouse, &c., has made it much easier now to compare the stories with the sculptures, and so to perceive the purport of the latter.

Professor Sergius von Oldenburg (in Vostochniya Zametki, pp. 337-365, 1895)[2] has rendered a real service to this line of research by his analysis of the *Jâtakas*, identified in the Bharhut sculptures, in the Ajaṇṭâ paintings and sculptures, and at Boro-Buḍur. Unfortunately the essay is in Russian, and so but little accessible to Western scholars.[3] Another very useful essay has since been published by Prof. A. Grünwedel (in the *Veröffenblichungen aus dem Königl. Museum für Völkerkunde*, 1897, Bd. V.) on the representations of *Jâtakas* on the Mañgalacheti Temple at Pagan. These publications promise to open the way to a more exhaustive study of Buddhist sculptures and paintings, which the publication of the Ajaṇṭâ Frescoes by the Secretary of State for India (1896), and other works, have made accessible to Oriental scholars, whilst the translation of the *Jâtakas* has laid the literary materials open to the students of Art.

[1] Conf. *Padmasambhava und Mandârava* in the *Zeitschrift d. Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, 1898, S. 460n.

[2] Zametki o Buddjiskom' Iskusstvè.

[3] A list of the identifications only was given in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, pp. 623-27; (on p. 624, Sivi Jâtaka is twice misprinted as Siri J.).

What is wanted most at present is a fuller publication of the sculptures to convenient scales. We have a cast of one of the Sâñchi gateways in our great museums, but we have no satisfactory representation of the many sculptured panels on the other three gates and on the small separate toraṇa: Colonel Maisey's drawings in Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship* do not cover all the sculptures and want the final accuracy of presentation of good photographs on a proper scale. Fergusson's work was necessarily fragmentary: he could only use the materials within his reach: but his beautiful work gave a new and strong impulse to the study, and should now be revised with complete materials from the original monument. For Amarâvati and Bharhut we have a fairly full series of good illustrations; but for the sculptures at Kaṇheri, Nâsik, Karlê, Bâgh, &c., our materials are still defective. All these would throw light on the development of Indian Buddhist art.

Of the Gandhâra sculptures that are at Lahor, good photographs have been taken, and though not to any definite scale; still, if only the dimensions were marked on each, they could be made to serve their purpose. Of those in the India Museum at Calcutta, on the other hand, the illustrations are the least satisfactory of all,—there are no scales, and they are too frequently grouped together on large plates containing sculptures of all sizes, sometimes to the number of twenty or thirty crowded into one plate and interfering with one another, so as to render satisfactory study impossible.[1] Then there are some examples at Bombay, Madras and Rangoon that have not been photographed or described. There are small collections also in the Edinburgh University and the Louvre; a few are at South Kensington Museum along with some casts from Lahor; at Berlin there are over fifty pieces; at Vienna there are others; and at Woking the late Dr. Leitner had formed an important private collection. Of the meagre series in the British Museum, the only published specimens are those given in the previous paper and in this. Other sculptures are in private hands[2] and quite beyond the reach of the student of Oriental art.

The principal notices of Gandhâra sculptures will be found in *Jour. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, vol. III (1834), pp. 363, 455; vol. XVI (1847), pp. 664-66; vol. XXI (1852), pp. 606-21; vol. XXIII (1854), pp. 394-95; vol. XXVII (1858), pp. 261-62; vol. XXX (1861), pp. 411-13; vol. LVIII (1889), pt. i., pp. 107-198; vol. LXI (1892), pp. 50-76; vol. LXII (1893), pt. i., pp. 84-87; *Proc. A. Soc. Beng.* (1898), pp. 186-89; Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua* (1841); Bellew's *Report on the Yusufzaïs*, pp. 109-151; *Supplements to Panjab Govt. Gaz.*, 24th July and 30th Aug., 1873, 12th Feb. and 6th Aug., 1874; *Ind. Antiquary*, vol. III (1874), pp. 142-44, 158-60; *Building News*, Mar. 6th, 1874; Cunningham, *Arch. Sur. Rep.*, vol. V, pp. 1-64, 185-202; Cole, *Second Rep. of Curator Anc. Remains* (1882-3), pp. cxiv.-cxxxviii.; *Græco-Buddhist Sculptures from Yusufzai* (1885), 30 plates, and *Preserv. of Natl. Monts. in India* (Griggs, 1898), pll. 89-100; Anderson's *Catal. of Arch. Coll. Indian Mus.*, Pt. I, pp. 198-261; *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, vol. XIV (1881), pp. 319-31; Fergusson, *Ind. and Eastn. Archit.*, pp. 72-83, and 169-184; *Trans. R. Inst. of Brit. Architects*, 1861-2 (W. Simpson), pp. 165-178; 1879-80, pp. 37-64; and 1891, pp. 254-66; *Jour. R. I. Br. Arch.* (1894), (W. Simpson), pp. 93-112; (J. Burgess), 112f., (T. H. Lewis, Purdon Clarke, &c.), 113f.; (J. L. Kipling), 134-38; (J. T. Perry) 147-50; (R Phené Spiers), 114, 150-153; and (W. Simpson) 191-93, and 1895, p. 190; *Jour. Asiat.*, 8me ser., tom. XV (1890), pp. 139-63; and 9me ser. t. XIII, pp. 526-37; Foucher, in *Rev. de l'Hist. des Religions*, tom. XXX (1894), pp. 319-71; *Anc. Monuments of India*, pll. 69-151; Goblet d'Alviella, *Ce que l'Inde doit à la Grèce* (1897), pp. 1-94, 152-61; Grünwedel, *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien*, Ss. 73-164; and in *Globus*, 18th March, 1899, Ss. 169-177.

JAMES BURGESS.

[1] It is gratifying to learn, after this was in proof, that the Indian Museum is to publish by and by a series of thirty plates of these important sculptures.

[2] See *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, 1898, p. 920, with two plates; and 1899, p. 422, with two plates.

Fig. 38. Moulding from Swât.

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